

THE
IMPARTIAL
ENGLISHMAN
OR,
PLAIN TRUTH

BY A
True Lover of his Country

sum pascens ubi, tam pascens per

Qua est domus tua stabiles, quod est
et, qua pascens ubi, tam pascens per
sum. Tellus Amica

Qua est domus tua stabiles, quod est
sum, qua pascens ubi, tam pascens per
sum. Tellus Amica

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JANUARY
MAY 21 1871

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THE INTRODUCTION

ISAIAH I. 7.

Your country is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers.

8. *And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.*

9. *Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.*

WONG has this Island been distracted by the Fury of contending Parties; whose Heads and Leaders have drawn them into the most senseless, most destructive Quarrels; and whilst the deluded People, engaged in these Controversies, to satisfy the Pride, the Ambition and Avarice of particular Men, they have neglected, and even contributed to the Subversion of their true Interest;

rest ; and often endanger'd the Loss of what is, in it self, most valuable and precious to them, either as Men, as Englishmen or Christians.

As Men ; they have given in to barbarous and cruel Actions, to attain some End, or preserve Acquisitions which their Masters have prevailed on them to believe, either conducive to secure imaginary Advantages or such as would protect, and defend them from Ruin, and Misery : And, sometimes meerly to gratify an enflamed Revenge on those, they have been taught to call their Enemies : Fathers and Brethren, Relations and Benefactors, have felt the keenest Edge of Party-Rage, even from those they have study'd, and strove with all their Power to preserve.

As Englishmen ; that Constitution and Happiness of Government, which our Ancestors (of all Ages) and even the present Time, have boasted peculiar to us, which they have been so proud of, and well satisfy'd in, has been cramp'd in its Exercise, more than once, wounded in its vital Parts, and once quite destroy'd ; those Laws, so justly esteem'd, evaded or debased to serve the vilest Ends.

As Christians ; they have suffer'd the Beauties of Religion to be defaced, and blotted ; its Discipline restrained, and made subject to the worst Designs ; and its Doctrines deny'd by some, ridiculed by others, disregarded and neglected by most, and by too many gloss'd and commented upon, till the Sense is either quite explain'd away, or strain'd to countenance (if not to encourage and command) the worst of Crimes ; and (what is yet most strange and deplorable) all this has been done, under specious Pretences, and the solemnest Protestations, of Preserving, of Reforming, and Guarding our Religion ; in order to beautify

fy and adorn, to strengthen and confirm our Laws, and to exalt Humanity to a more noble and virtuous Degree.

These Things are fatally true, and so well known to all, who have been conversant in the History of their Fathers, or just Observers of the present Age, (than which none ever furnish'd such flagrant Examples of this kind) that I have Reason to think few will contradict me: And as therefore, I may presume to take this for granted; so I will not lay it (wholly) to the Charge of any Party, or set of Men; but take leave to conclude, that whoever are guilty of these monstrous Follies and accursed Crimes, are Enemies to their Country, Foes to Religion and Virtue, and ought by all wise and good Men, to be slighted, discountenanced, opposed, and punish'd, according to the different Degrees of their Errors, their Vices, and their Villanies.

We have, as is observ'd, been too long divided and ranged in different Classes, and distinguish'd by mock Nominations and Words; sometimes purely for Distinction's sake, and sometimes by Titles of Infamy and Reproach; therefore I shall carefully avoid all such, and as I am far from being an Advocate to any Party (as such) shall take the liberty, which as I apprehend is given me by Nature, of speaking plain Truth to my Countrymen, in the modestest and most impartial Manner, by stating the Case of the Nation fairly as follows.

Endeavouring first, to shew what these things are; which to English-men are, and ought to be, truly valuable.

What Methods heretofore have, and what are most likely to Confirm and Encrease, as well as Embellish and Adorn them.

And (on the contrary) what Conduct of the dif.

different Degrees amongst us, is most likely to destroy, overturn, and corrupt these Blessings, or does naturally tend to embitter and deform them.

'Twill not (I presume) be denied me, that Religion is of all things the most valuable, the Gentlemen of Pleasure and Debauch (too numerous a Body) must forgive me, that I place it in the first Rank, of what Challenges our chiefest Care and Esteem: And the deep searchers of Nature, and Sons of Reason (as they call themselves) must also pardon me if I esteem the Christian Religion, (as reveal'd in the Holy Scriptures) the most Exalted and Perfect: Nor must the other Seeds of Gain-sayers, who are full of themselves, and boast the Clearness and Strength of their Understanding, take it amiss, that I think the *Trinity* in *Unity* and the *Divinity* of each, and all the Persons of the *Deity*, (as well as of the first) asserted, and fully prov'd in these sacred Pages; so that (in short) the Religion I mean is that Protest, both as to Doctrine and Discipline, as to the outward Form and Order, as well as the inward Spirit and Essence, in that Part of the Holy Catholick Church, commonly call'd the Church of *England*; to which I may very well confine my Thoughts, in a Discourse of this Nature, since few great Turns have been undertaken or effected, but under Colour of Preserving, Reforming, Delivering, or Strengthening its Interest, or (at least) have been declar'd no way Prejudicial to it: So cautious of Injuring, so careful of their sacred Mother, have the generality of this Nation always been, that the Arts of Crafty and Designing Men, could never so effectually prevail, as when some of these Ends were pretended, or when the People could be made believe, that what was propos'd would no way prejudice what they so esteemed and loved.

This

This was once the Case of the *English* Establish'd Church, even amongst those, who had the misfortune to Dissent from it. They then desir'd only the free Exercise of their own Manner of Worship, still calling the Church of *England* their Mother, professing the greatest Esteem and Veneration for her, and freely owning her their chief Bulwark against the Church of *Rome*; gratefully would they often own her Indulgence, and sometimes even admire her Beauty: Nay, their Allies and Brethren Abroad, whose Sense they would be thought to speak, have lamented that the Constitution of their Countries were so framed, as not to admit the same Decent and Apostolical Order. But alas, this Temper lasted not long, and though it sometimes appear'd by Starts, as lately at *Geneva*, and several times in our modern British Sectaries; 'twas like a Libertines Religion, only to be observ'd in Times of Danger; this however, in some measure, shew'd its Excellency, that it was (in their Opinion at least) capable of sheltering under its Wings, and guarding or delivering those, who sought her Protection; which is sufficiently proved, by her having many times supported Herself and her Brethren against the greatest Dangers; and will, I hope, be always furnish'd by the Almighty, with Power to extricate herself from the Difficulties, into which the Malice and Fury of her profest and inveterate Enemies, the Treachery of her pretended Friends, or the Indolence, the Folly, or the Cowardice of her own Governors may involve and perplex her.

Perhaps the Dissenters will say, I have by this manner of Discourse broken the Rule I propos'd, and whilst I declare to be an Advocate for no Party, fall directly to pleading for one sort of Religion and declaring against another; but surely, such a scruple must be groundless, whilst the
Church

Church Establish'd is an essential Part of our Constitution, and inseparable from our Monarchy: The *Toleration* they enjoy, ow'd its Original to the good Nature and *Moderation* of *Legislators* in that Communion, who might have at first refused to grant it, and could have no other Motive to it, but to shew how averse they were to any kind of Persecution, or which should bear the least Appearance of it, and how unwilling that Consciences should be forc'd in Points so tender and momentous.

How easy were it to bring innumerable Evidences of the Advantages of Religion in general; which Refines, Corrects and Sublimates our Reason, adorns and beautifies our Nature; with what Delight and Satisfaction, with what Clearness and Perspicuity, with what Strength and Pathetick Eloquence, might an Orator expatiate on the Excellency and Worth of the Christian Religion, which enlightens our Understandings, and subdues our depraved Passions and Affections, that gives us Comfort and Consolation in all Sorrow and Affliction, vastly beyond what Philosophy itself can afford, and teaches us to govern our selves, and regulate our Conduct, in the more difficult Station of a flowing Prosperity, whose fundamental Principle is Charity, Benevolence and Love, and whose blessed Effects are Tranquility, unspeakable Pleasure, Satisfaction and Happiness to our selves, and Comfort, Support and Delight to all others we converse with in the World.

Hence are we furnish'd with Sweetness of Temper, that Calmness and Serenity of Mind, which is so engaging and delightful, with that Temperance and Moderation in our Enjoyments of the common Pleasures of the World, with that calm Resignation to the Will of Heaven, when we are deprived of them; and that noble Courage, that Firmness,

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ness, that fortitude of Mind, which can alone support us, against the frowns of Fortune, the insults of the Proud and Haughty, in Racks, Tortures, and even Murthers and Martyrdoms of our Friends, Brethren and Country-men, by the barbarous Commands of cruel Tyrants; what but this divine Spirit could Arm the Soul to scorn Death, and receive the sharpest Tortures with Smiles and Blessings on the Actors of such Cruelty, and make a Saint on the Rack or on the Scaffold, in a Dungeon or a Desert, enjoy more Delight, than the cruel Authors of these Barbarities in their most Elaborate Luxury.

What but this Gift of the Almighty could move the Christian generously to relieve the Necessities, and support the Cause of the Unfortunate, where no worldly Interest Commands and even in Opposition to it? 'Tis this that makes the god-like Heroe, scorn all the Temptations of Power, Wealth or Pleasure, all the Threats of Pain, Misery and Want, rather than betray his Master, his Friend, his Prince, or blaspheme and deny his God, or have any share in the Villanies of the mighty Oppressors, who dare trample on the sacred Rights of Royalty and Religion, and break thro' the Ties, the Rules, and Obligations of Reason, of Virtue, and even Humanity itself, and Sacrifice all to their Lust, Avarice and Ambition.

But these things are so plain to all, who feel the Joys of Religion, that to them 'tis needless to enlarge on this Head, and to the Sensualist 'twould be to no purpose, since they cannot possibly entertain an adequate Idea of such exalted Bliss, tho' recommended from the Mouths of Saints and Angels much less effectual, would my mean Endeavours be to warm their stupid Souls with Holy Raptures, to convince and brighten their Reason,

son, so eclipsed by the Clouds of Vice and Debauchery.

This then, even this pure and glorious Religion justly challenges the first place in our Affections; and its Preservation and Encouragement deserve our utmost Care and Application. These, therefore, who study and endeavour it, are the Nations, as well as their own, best Friends; and (as the Reverse is as Horrid, as it is Beautiful,) those, who are its Enemies, are (certainly) their Countries, and their own; in the highest, and most fatal Degree.

Next to the Care of Eternity, and the Happiness of our Immortal Souls; which Religion teaches, and secures to us; are the Methods of acquiring those things, which may make our Lives comfortable in this World, and render our Pilgrimage on Earth more agreeable to us. We are left at Liberty, to use what means we think proper, to attain these Ends, which are not inconsistent with our Duty to God; or break any of those divine Rules he has directed us to walk by.

We are not enjoined to slight, or neglect, the innocent use of those Creatures he has made for our Delight and Satisfaction; Riches and Power are as excellent, in the Hands of the Virtuous, as they are made terrible and hateful by the abuse of wicked Men.

And since these are most likely to assist us, in the acquisition of whatever else of worldly Things is Valuable; and since the latter, commonly follows, or attend the former; and that is gain'd by Industry and good Management. I think Trade deserves the second Place in the List.

Trade (besides its great Advantage to particular Men,) is of utmost Use and Import to the Publick, by employing the Members of it; by which
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Thousands are enrich'd, Ten Thousands preserv'd from Want, who would else become Burthens to themselves, as well as others : By this (also) the Riches of the whole Community is increas'd, and the Nation render'd of greater Esteem, amongst neighbouring Princes. Both the Commonwealth, in its publick Capacity ; and the Members of it, in their private ; are furnish'd with a more extensive Power, of supporting themselves against Invasions from abroad ; or Wants and Misery at home ; relieving the Necessities of the Poor and Oppressed ; (*a God-like Virtue*) and by these means, shining amongst the brightest Ornaments of Humanity.

After these, the Glory and the Guard of All, is our Law ; by which, the free Exercise of our Religion is secured to us ; Virtue encouraged, and Vice discountenanced ; the Church defended from the Oppressions of its Enemies ; and our Properties (which our Trade gains for us) preserv'd, from the ridiculous Attempts of levelling Principles on the one Hand ; or the Depredations, and Rapine, of Arbitrary Power on the other.

And here (I think most properly) ought to be consider'd that Blessing, we seem to contend most for, even when we least enjoy it ; *the much mistaken, much misunderstood Liberty* ; so dear, in all Ages, to this * Nation ; that any thing under that

* *Fleta Mss. Linc. pt. 1. c. 2. de Libertate.* Est autem Libertas Naturalis Facultas ejus quod cuique facere liber, nisi quod de jure & vi prohibetur. Alio modo dicitur Libertas Evacuatio servitutis.

Bracton Liber 1. fol. 4. Liber 2. fol. 47. *Has the same Definition exactly, with a very great Addition, which takes up in each Place above a Leaf of Totell's Edition.*

darling Name, and disguised with the least Similitude of it, has urged *English-men* to such Actions in its Defence ; which scarce any other Consideration would have had Power, or Influence to do. *Liberty* (I say) ought in this Place to be (more particularly) consider'd ; because it is inseparable from the due Execution of our Laws ; as they are the vital Spirits, the very Life and Soul of it.

Their Beauty and Excellencies appear in every Day of our Life (either by the true and uncorrupted Exercise, too rare a Blessing, or the Abuse and Corruption,) truly Amiable, desirable and exceedingly proper Objects of a *Britton's* Affection and Esteem.

And now (I presume) I may be allowed to conclude ; that Religion, Trade, Law and Liberty, are the highest Blessings, an *English-man* can enjoy, in this World ; and Essential to every other Pleasure and Satisfaction ; which Wisdom, and Virtue allow us : They are Fountains, from whence all flow ; the Foundations on which they are built ; the Hinges on which they all turn ; and the Guard and Support, to preserve and secure them to us.

How dear, then, should these be ? How Esteem'd ? Who lay themselves out in the Defence of those high and inestimable Blessings ; and how much our Aversion, and Contempt. The Wretches, whose Conduct is bent designedly, or naturally tends to subvert them, and deprive us of them ?

Who those are, will sufficiently appear, by an impartial Examination of the Methods, by which they are advanced, or depressed.

C H A P. I. Of R E L I G I O N.

P S A L M lxxx. 12. 13, 14.

*Why hast thou broken down her hedges, so that
all they which pass by the way, do pluck her?
The boar out of the wood doth wast it : and
the wild beast of the field doth devour it.
Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts :
look down from heaven and behold and visit
this vine :*

AS to Religion, the Ground and Fountain of all ; how Excellent soever, in it self ; how Beautiful, in its Appearance ; how Charming, and Delightful, in its Essence ; how conducive to what is desirable here, and blessed hereafter ; its Enemies are most numerous, and by their Variety and Power, the most formidable.

From the Infancy of Christianity to this Time, it has been beset, by the Craft, and the Power the open Force, and inward Fraud of its implacable Foes. It is not to be wonder'd at (humanly speaking,) that the *Jews*, should oppose, what they thought an Innovation, and imagin'd (notwithstanding our Saviours Assurance that he came not destroy, but to fulfil the Law,) a total Subversion of the Mosaick Institutions, which they had been taught ; by the Precepts and Examples of their Fathers, so religiously to adhere to : But that Christians should oppose the Growth of Christianity, and by their hellish Tenets endeavour,

deavour, either to Cloud, or totally Eclipse, the glorious Light of the Gospel; that Sun of Salvation, just risen on the World, is as surprizing as 'tis abominable.

The Disciples of *Simon*, the *Gnosticks*, and (after these) the *Arians* and *Socinians* were the first and chief Hereticks; and it is obvious to all, how fatally to the Christian Church, the Seeds by them sown have since prosper'd and grown up in the World: But as this Enquiry is intended to be confined, to that part of our Church planted in these Nations; 'twill be proper to consider the several Strokes, the variety of Wounds, our Holy Religion has receiv'd, in its Doctrines and Discipline, within these Islands: And since recent Examples are wont to affect us most, I shall not trouble my Reader to look further back then the Reformation.

When this Nation had resolved to shake off the Shackles of *Rome*, (under whose Usurpations she had long groan'd) and to restore the Beauty of Holiness to the *English* Church; free from all the ridiculous Baubles with which it had been defac'd, by Superstition, and worldly Designs of the Conclave; * Measures were taken, by a free and general Synod, of the most pious and learned Divines, to throw off all offensive Novelties, that had (by the successive Corruption of many Ages; and from the Designs of ambitious and covetous Prelates) crept in; to deface that Original, that Apostolick Harmony and Decent Order, to which by the Blessing of the Almighty it was then once more restored.

* Vide *Bishop Godwin's* Annot. *Rerum Anglicarum* Printed with the first Volume of *Cambd. Eliz.* Page 59. id enim ad magnam Regis *Hemici* Laudem pertinet quod non temerè, &c.

Then

Then did the truly Religious behold the blessed Effect of so glorious a Work ; they could without Regret, and with a good Conscience, obey the Commands of their Holy Mother, observe her Terms and Orders, submit to her Discipline, with Joy unspeakable reserve her Blessings ; and with a pious Submission approve her Censures. They were now allowed the free use * of the Holy Scriptures ; and had no other Rules of Life enjoin'd them, but what these sacred Pages contain'd, or were conformable to them ; and wherever these were ambiguous, (by the Holy Spirits manner of Expression, or by the meanness, the penury of Language, and its insufficiency to contain the high Ideas of the divine Instructors) they were allow'd, to hear these † Points explain'd, by a learned, ingenious and pious Clergy ; in a Language they perfectly understood ; into which their Liturgy and Common-prayer was translated. They were no longer obliged to certain external Penances, or pecuniary Mulcts, to buy Pardons for their past Sins ; by which those who had Money, or hardy Constitutions were implicitly told, that only the Poor and the Weak could be damn'd ; but were enjoin'd the true penance of the Mind in secret, and an entire amendment of Life in its future Stages. These (only) were the Terms, on which the holy Church promis'd Salvation ; and, on

* *Camb. Eliz. Vol. 1. Pag. 39. God. Annal. Pag. 66. tem. H. 8.* Hoc imprimis saluberrime cautum ut sacrorum Bibliorum codex in Linguam Anglicanam conversus in Ecclesiis ubique asservaretur omnibus qui id cuperent perlegendus. *God. Annal. Pag. 88. tem. E. 6. à Scripturarum lectione neminem arcendum, &c.*

† *God. Annal. Pag. 66. tem. E. 6. Vernacula Lingua Liturgiam sive preces publicas populo proponendas.*

these

these Conditions, encouraged the most heinous Sinner to hope for Mercy.

* They were no longer forbid the Exercise of their Senses, in the most solemn Act of Devotion ; nor taught to deprive themselves of the best Evidence of the Christian Religion, by believing their Sences deceived them, when exercised about their proper Objects.

† They were taught a strict, and exact Obedience to the second Commandment ; and as (on no Account) they were to pay the least spiritual Adoration to any created Beings, (of how superior and divine a Nature soever ; much less to inanimate Representations,) so was their Worship of the Almighty God of Heaven, of the incomprehensible undivided Trinity, to be performed with utmost Devotion, Seriousness and Attention, in the most decent and solemn Manner.

No voluntary Vows of Chastity or Poverty (those fatal Rocks on which so many Souls have split) were advised as meritorious ; and such as would deserve eternal Blessings ; but Mankind was (in that Respect also) told by the Church, what the holy Scripture commanded her to declare to the World ; that, whatever human Nature was capable of, was but our bounden Duty ; and when we had done our utmost, we should remain unprofitable Servants.

In short, then might the Church be truly said to be Apostolical, by preserving the Solemnity of Devotion, without Idolatry, the Decency, the Beauty of Holiness, without Superstition.

* *God. Annal. Pag. 89. tem. E. 6. Transubstantiationem merum Papisticum esse commentum, &c.*

† *God. Annal. tem. E. 6. Pag. 88. Imagines & Statuæ in universum omnes Templis ejectæ Camb. Eliz. Pag. 36. & 39.*

Then did her innocent and divine Splendour, charm and delight her Sons, as free from Pride or offensive Pomp, on the one Hand ; as rude and indecent Negligence, and Disregard on the other : From the Confusion and Anarchy, with which it has since been afflicted.

* In how heavenly a State was Christianity then? And how deplorable must be the Case of those who have robb'd her of these Blessings, or contributed (by any Methods) to alter this happy Condition.

† The first were a sort of modern Gnosticks ; who, under pretence of greater Piety, and greater Wisdom than their Betters, and those who were ordained their Governours, *panted Forsooth after a more perfect Reformation ;* and (to use for once the Similitude of a profane Author) were not content “ that the Garment should be “ stripp'd of its needless, troublesome, unsightly “ * Trimmings ; but would rip off every Deco- “ ration, even tho' they left Rents and Defor- “ mity in the Room. *Their tender † Consciences* (poor Souls !) *could not bear the Relicks of Popery ; the Rags of the Whore of Babylon were offensive to them ;* * and therefore they beg leave to separate ; and under the shelter and protection of the great Bul- work, (as they call'd it) *which they good People heartily Lov'd and Esteem'd, to Worship in a more pure manner :* This (tho' with the utmost Reluctance) did the Church indulge them, trusting their Sincerity ; and rather cementing their Weakness, than severely censuring their Separation. But

* That is when the Reformation was compleated about the Sixth Year of Queen Elizabeth. Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 801.

† Anabaptists from Germany.

* Tale of a Tub.

† Lusco Germ. Reformer Edward VI.

* Vide Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 197. Anno tertio Eliz.

how fatal to the Church of *England*, and to Religion in general, that Concession has been; all her true Sons have since, too sensibly felt.

These Separatists, affecting the Name of Puritans, were not long without their Gnosticks also. Some there were, who were yet *more tender than their Brethren*, and thought they had as much Right to make, yet *a further, and more pure Refinement*. Nor did these Dissenters (as they afterwards came to be called) remain without Sub-divisions; till at last they encreas'd (in less than a Century) to near Forty different Sects; some of them so ridiculous, so profane, as neither a Christian, or a rational Creature, could adhere to, or defend.

* Hence the Papist drew Arguments against the Reformation it self, and laying hold on Incidents, (in some measure of their own creating) were furnish'd with the best Weapon possible, to Wound the true Church of Christ. By this means many were again perverted to the Romish Perswasion; many were *tost to and fro* (as the Apostle describes that unhappy State) by variety of Opinions; and would sometimes fall in with one, sometimes side with other Parties; till at last they grew careless and disregardful of Religion, or fell back to the Superstitions and Idolatries the Church had (so lately) purged her self from; or (which is worst of all) sunk into Atheism and contempt of Christianity it self.

The great and wise Queen *Elizabeth* was so Apprehensive of this, that she enforc'd, (not only by her own pious Example and personal Influence) but by Penal Laws, Uniformity in Religion, as the only Expedient to preserve the

* *History of England Ecclesiastical. Page 843.*

Church from the Rage of those Tyrants she had abandon'd ; * and the private Wounds of her own schismatical Sons. She wisely considered the Frailty and Inconstancy of human Nature ; how small a part of Mankind were truly Wise and Good ; and how much with Folly and Vanity, with Error and Mistake ; the best Understandings, and most pious Wills were mixt ; and therefore justly fear'd the ill Consequence of leaving those, over whom the Almighty had set her, to themselves ; in Matters of so great Moment. She esteem'd it much more Eligible, to oblige her People to the Observation of those excellent Rules and Ordinances, set down by the reformed Church ; which on the most mature and serious Deliberation, appeared agreeable to the holy Scriptures, and the Practice of the first and most pure Ages of Christianity ; and tho' (possibly) there might be some parts of the outward Form, (as no human Institution can be perfect) which seem'd to many well meaning Christians, capable of a further Reformation ; she well knew under that Colour what Wounds the Church would suffer ; and how fond every particular Person, or society of Men would be, of their own manner of Alteration ; and therefore allowed none, but such as were made by those, who had Authority to do it, and those only in their publick Synod or Convocation.

† Indeed this indulgent Mother of her Country did make some allowance for tender Consciences, but how truly tender they were, appeared in the

* Echard's Hist. p. 813. and 828. Camb. Eliz. Vol. 1. p. 40.

† Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 801. *Where is an Account of settling the Articles of Faith, to prevent Confusion in Opinions, and reducing them to the very Thirty Nine now held by the Church.*

Rebellion of the Earl of *Essex*; * which was abetted by *these pious, these grateful People*; on the very account of extending the Power of their Party, now grown to some Head; and dignified by the unmerited Name of Puritans.

Nor was the Successor of this heroick Princess less cautious of these mock Zealots. He had been well acquainted with the *Moderation, the Virtue, the Piety of their Relations* (I can scarce call them Brethren) in the Kingdom whence he came, to take Possession of the *English Crown*. He knew well how *tender* they were in any Point, where their Power was not restrained; † which made him caution his Son against them: But took too little care (or at least improper Methods) to clip their aspiring Wings. * He was peaceable and timorous in his Nature; and affected a quiet and tranquil Life; impatient of every Trouble and Tumult; and had rather suffer Inconveniences, against his own Judgment, (which in religious Matters especially) was equal (at least) to any that Age produc'd,) and even the most barbarous Cruelties and Oppressions, then take the trouble to redress the Grievance, or revenge the Wrong; witness the Case of *Amboyna*; which horrid Massacre, he left his Sons Son to chastise that Nation for, which was the Author of it.

In the next Reign Religion was attack'd on every Side; and tho' the pious Prince, who then adorn'd the *British Throne*, did what mortal Man could do, to preserve the Purity of it; to guard the Church from the various Assaults of her Enemies; it pleased the Almighty, to render his Endeavours vain; and to suffer his Royal

* Echard's Hist. Life of Eliz. p. 897.

† Dorton Basilike. p.

* Echard's p. 91.

Blood to be spilt, by cruel and accursed Parricides, in the defence of Religion and the Laws.

Then it was, that those Scorpions, who had been so long harbour'd in the Bosom of their Mother, durst give their Poyson the proper Name, no longer wanted, to shelter under her Protection ; but to feed themselves on her Blood, and wanton in her Ruin : Their Intention, their Resolution, to sting her to Death, was openly avowed ; which when they had almost effected, what a brood of monstrous Opinions infested the World ; and defac'd (at last) the very Image and Form of Religion it self ! Into Holes and Corners, were the Orthodox Clergy forc'd to retire ; by those, who when they had banish'd their Mother, became (by turns) Preys to each other ; and were such a Scandal to human Nature, that the Name of an *English-man* was a Reproach. By Blood, and by Rapine were they forc'd to maintain, what they had by Fraud first, and then by open Violence, got Possession of.

Here let us stay a little and reflect on the sad State of the Church and Nation then ; and let us look back and compare it with the Elizan Age. How Pleasant and delightful is the one, and how deplorable a Condition the other ! Is it possible, Mankind could be so Blind to their own Happiness, to be drawn into such destructive Measures ? How came it to pass, that the Wise and Good should be seduc'd, by the Designs of the Wicked ; to forego such exalted Happiness, and contribute to their own Ruin ? Was it not first, that a few heady peevish Pretenders to Religion, dislik'd something in the Establishment ; but did it, out of pure Zeal to the Church, and to promote its Honour and Interest. And when some Alterations were obtained, was it not, that there still remained other offensive Particulars ? And by yielding
to

to some, did not others (also) think they had a Right; first to remonstrate and at last to demand Terms of their own, or leave to separate? When that was granted, how natural, how easy, was it for them to endeavour the Establishment of their own Whims; which they were first allowed to follow, out of pure Compassion to their Infirmities? Was it not, that from humble Requests, they wrought themselves up to inordinate Desires; and at last were hurried on with Vehemence to overthrow all, by their headstrong and importunate Eagerness; in the pursuit of Power, which by no means belonged to them; and which when they had obtained, served only to expose their Folly, their Madness, their Impiety, and which (in no Case) they wore with any manner of Grace. Thus from humble Suitors they aimed at an equality of Privileges; and from the State of weak Brethren, aspir'd to be domineering Masters, and most tyrannick Governours.

After these Reflections, let us state the Case, as to Religion; and ask any impartial Man, whether those who did promote the first Divisions, after the Reformation, were not great Enemies to the Church? Whether those, who to serve secular Ends, encouraged the Factions, to encrease these Divisions, were not greater? And whether those who (at last) joined all the Sectaries, and most absurd Opinions (nay even the Papists themselves) were not yet the greatest of all? Let us consider, whether these Enemies were not made up, of a medly, of disaffected Persons; whether their Forces were not composed of a motley mixture of Enemies to Religion in general; Enemies to the Protestant Religion, (who artfully enough crept in amongst them in great Numbers, and were caress'd by the weak or giddy headed, the proud and vain Male-contents, with-
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in the Pale of the Church ; another part of this Alliance,) and tho' their Views were all of a different Nature, yet it was equally necessary to all, that the Church should fall. The Atheist desired an occasion to ridicule all Religion, and (too will) argues, that he had no Reason to think any of those in the Right, who all so zealously differ'd in Points of so great Importance. The Papists concluded, that by dividing the Church, and by drawing its Members, from one Opinion to another ; they will at last seek Refuge, from their holy Father the Pope : And each of the Sectaries (how absurd soever his Opinion is) flatters himself it will at last obtain and gain the Pre-eminence over all the rest.

But (after all this) if we examin the Matter yet a little farther, 'twill appear that, neither could these Foes have encreas'd to any great Degree ; or when grown Formidable by their joint Endeavours, could not have hurt the Church ; when it was establish'd and guarded by Laws ; when it was become an essential Part of our Constitution ; had the Governors of it been watchful on all Sides, and warded against the threatening Dangers that surrounded her ; (I wish I could not say) had they forborn to betray her, and deliver her up to her Enemies : And had the Principles of those who were to direct the Machine of State, been suitable to the Doctrines of that Church, they were bound by the most sacred Tyes to preserve. The Example Bishop *Grindall* set was but too well followed by many of his Successors ; and the Conduct of some Lords, who favour'd the Infancy of Fanaticism in that, has been many times acted over in succeeding Reigns.

It cannot be reasonably imagin'd, that a Bishop of a different Faith from our Church, or of any **heretodox** Opinion in Religion, will be very careful

ful in his admitting others into holy Orders; unless it be to get those of his own Stamp. Nor can it be supposed that a Minister of State, who is a debauch'd or immoral Man, will have great regard to the Life and Conversation of the Priest he designs a Bishoprick for; unless it be such, as suit his own Genius and Inclination; much less will an atheistical Peer be careful to promote those of strict Virtue and Piety, on whom he always looks as poor superstitious bigotted Zealots, who are too dull for his airy Taste; and because they prefer the solid Worth of true Learning, and the lasting Beauties of Religion, to the light Gewgaws of Whim and Humour; because they chuse to please and oblige him, by informing his Understanding; and by wholesome advice correcting the Errors of his Life; by Discourses on the exalted Pleasures of Wisdom and Virtue; and from thence arise to the more refined, more heavenly Delights, of Religion; rather than to tickle his Fancy with a luscious Ode, or an humorous Satyr, are esteem'd beneath his Notice.

Will any Man be so mad to hope for Preference in the Church, from any great Man of Republican Principles, or who favours the Presbyterian Scheme; who is (but suspected) of any real or hearty Affection to her, or is not represented as a Man (at least) very indifferent in the matter. And tho' all this be so, tho' the Creatures are of their own forming; Are not these very Persons the first to expose and ridicule the Objects of their own Choice, which they pick out with so much Care and Industry to banter Religion in general, and wound the Church of *England*, thro' the Sides of these her most unworthy Sons. By this time, I dare say, 'tis evident that a debauch'd, atheistical or fanatical Ministry; and by their Interest, an ignorant Herodox or Profligate

profligate Sett of Bishops; who admit such only into holy Orders as are of their own Stamp; are the greatest Enemies to the Church, and to Religion in general; and the Ills it has at any time labour'd under, have arisen chiefly from some degrees or other of the Conduct of such. I believe 'tis scarce a Question, to what Sett or Party of Men, such of those three Orders always adhere; but by what Title soever they are distinguish'd, I'll venture to affirm, it is the Interest and Duty of every true *English-man*, true Christian, and true Church-man, to oppose their Advancement; by all lawful Methods within his Power.

CH A P. II.

Of T R A D E.

PROVERBS xii. 24.

*The hand of the diligent shall bear rule, but
the slothful shall be under tribute.*

TRade owes its Rise and Improvement so much to Fancy, Humour, and the Taste of the Age: It is subject to so many Accidents by the varying the different Interests of our own, as well as other Nations; that what can be said of it properly now, was in the former Age; and may in the next (perhaps) be nothing to the purpose. However there are some things so essential Fundamentals of the *English Trade*, that 'tis impossible Traffick (to a national Advantage) can subsist without them.

I may venture to advance, that the Trade to be encouraged and promoted, should always be such, as tends to the publick Emolument, and to enrich the Nation, (as such) and that all others are in the Nature of Monopolies ; and rather a Prejudice, than Benefit to the Kingdom.

I believe it need be illustrated, by no Reticorn or Examples, that the particular Gain of a few Members, is rather a Prejudice, than an Advantage to the Society ; since the Thoughts and the Endeavours used to that end, rob the Publick of those beneficial Methods, by which the common Good might be advanced. The *African*, and other Companies, will scarce think themselves obliged to any of their Members, for being a two or three Plumb Man in his own private Capacity ; will they not (rather) wonder and complain, at the particular encrease of his Riches ; which by the same Methods of Industry and Management, might have been added to their publick Stock. And (if this be so) will not the Nation in general, have the same Grounds to complain of these particular Societies of Men, which engross a Trade that might else be much more Extensive ; and thereby deprive one Hundred ingenious and worthy Merchants of the honest Advantages unconfin'd Trade might produce.

The Publick is in this respect very like a human Body, where a long disproportionate Finger, a swollen Arm, or a gouty Toe, is not thought any Ornament or Advantage ; but is esteemed, besides the Deformity, a sign of a crazy Constitution and ill State of Health.

The chief national Advantages (as I humbly apprehend them) are.

1st, The vending the Growth and Manufacture of the Country.

2^{dly}, And

2^{dly}, And importing such things, from others, as are necessary to encrease the Wealth, the Splendour, and the Pleasures of our own ; or are absolutely necessary to the support or delight of human Life.

These become advantageous ; 1st, by employing our People.

2^{dly}, By drawing the Riches and Money of other Nations, into the publick Treasures, or private Purses of our own.

3^{dly}, By this means a Nation is render'd more Formidable to her Neighbours, who will court her Friendship and Alliance ; treat her always with Respect and Kindness ; fly to her for Assistance in times of Danger ; and be ready to assist her on the like occasion ; since they, with greatest Reason, may expect suitable Returns.

If under these Heads all cannot, yet (I believe) the greatest Advantages may be ranged.

And if the present State of our Commerce be examin'd by these Particulars, I fear we shall find it fall far short of the Improvement it is capable of : We shall find the base mean Endeavours of particular Men, have obstructed the common Good. And whilst some Persons (or some Societies) (which as to the Nation in general is all one) are swoln to an unweildy Bulk ; the Publick really declines in those Advantages which our Ancestors either did use or had a Right to.

It has long been a Complaint, that the Capital City of *England*, has its Streets full of miserable Objects, begging their Bread from Door to Door ; who might be employ'd, not only to the support of their own Lives, but to the Advancement of the Nation's Welfare. Whilst our Neighbours, whom we suffer shamefully to encroach, and make unwarrantable Inroads on our Rights

and Privileges, find ways to employ, not only the strong and able Bodied, but the most Impotent and Infirm; nay even Infancy it self is no bar to the Industry of a certain State; whose worst Vices, and most barbarous, rude, and even detestable Customs we are so fond of; when we neglect the only valuable Things they can boast.

How many of these miserable Wretches might be advantageously employ'd in our woollen Manufactory, at the publick Expence; which would entitle the Publick to the Profits of their Labour? How many in our Fishery, which (except in *Cornwall*, and some few other Places) has been long neglected, to the Shame and Infamy of the Nation? 'Tis obvious to all, what Advantage the *Dutch* make of their Herring Fishery; even where the sole Right belongs to this Nation; which by the disuse and other Artifices, has almost lost it; and in which our good Allies have the Justice and the Modesty to claim a share. *

Can it be accounted for, that Men should exclaim at the Folly or Villany of those Ministers, who were imposed upon in the late Peace; in the Article of *Cape Breton*; and the *New-foundland* Affair; without expecting to be upbraided with the like Neglect or Treachery, in that of *Tarmon* just at our Noses.

Can those with Reason accuse the late Managers, for admitting two or three Species of woollen Goods to be excluded out of our Commerce Treaty, who themselves excluded all Trade of that kind; by neglecting to ratify or settle any Commerce at all.

If the late Ministry betray'd us, or were mistaken; how comes it to pass, that the good Patriots, now in play, do not set us Right: No Man (surely) will say, Trade is advanced by being
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confined; why then are we told it is destructive to us, to have the Bounds and Limits of our Traffick extended further than ever? If to employ our People, in any manner, is so great an Advantage, and tends so naturally to the publick Welfare; how great is the degree of that Advantage, when they are employ'd in Maritime Affairs; by which means we may be constantly supply'd with good and skilful Sailors; and never want the Power, when we shall have the Will, to assert our undoubted Right to the Sovereignty of the Seas, which some have pretended a share in.

Are

* Never disputed but by the Dutch, when the Rebellion had removed all the Landmarks of the People of England, which occasion'd that Article of Cromwell's Treaty with them in November 15, 1653. by which he obliges them to what was their Duty before; and the narrow Seas are ascertain'd by the Treaty of Peace. temp. Car. 2. Feb. 9. 1673-4.

Vide Selden's tit. Honor. p. 118. Ex chart. fund. Eccles. Wigon. Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia qui est Rex Regum Ego Edgarus Anglorum Basileus omniumque Regum Insular. oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis cunctorumque nationum que infra eum includuntur Imperator & Dominus. Also Canute sitting in a Chair of State on the Southern Shoar, says thus, to the Sea. In mea ditionis es & Terra in qua sedeo mea est. With this also agrees Belknap and Moly, de jure mod. Where he says, that the not striking to the King of England's Flag is open Rebellion, it being not only a bare Dominion that is claimed, but a Right and Sovereignty. p. 178. Vide Le Ordinance of Hastings inter Leges Marinas tempore Reg. Johan. also that memorable Record tempore E. 1. when, on some Dispute that happened, it was agreed by the French, Genoese, Catalonians, Spaniards, Germans, Zelanders, Friselanders, Danes, Norweigeans, and even Hollanders.

The Decree is enter'd thus That the Kings of England by Right of the said Kingdom, from time to time, whereof there is no Memorial to the contrary, have been in peaceable Possessions of the Sovereign Lordship of the Seas of England, and of the Isles within the same; with Power of making and establishing Laws,

Are we angry with those who promote a *French* Trade, upon a disputed Supposition, that our Imports by such a Trade, exceed our Exports; without considering how much that Advantage (tho' it should be real) on the *French* side, will be overballanc'd by the Profit arising to the Nation, in our Shipping and Sailors; did we think fit to gain our selves what we now tamely allow the *Dutch*, for the Carriage of those very Goods? Can the World think, that if they get immense Riches, by buying our Manufactures, and selling them to the *French*, we could not get much more, by carrying them to the Market our selves; by which Thousands, many Thousands of our People, might be comfortably maintained.

Would not this also answer the second Advantage propos'd in Trade, and bring into *English* Pockets, what now the *Dutch*, and other Nations gain. And would not the third also naturally flow from this? Would not those, who have encroach'd on what of Right belongs to us, find us weary of being impos'd upon; and resolv'd to take the Staff into our own Hands? Would not this fill them (with whatever dislike and inward Murmurings) with real Esteem of our Wisdom, and feeling Apprehensions of our Virtue and Resolution? We might then (perhaps again) see the

Laws, Statutes and Prohibitions, of Arms and of Ships, otherwise furnish'd than Merchant-men used to be; and of taking Surety, and affording Safeguard in all Cases where need shall require; and of ordering all things necessary for the maintaining of Peace, Right and Equity, among all manner of People, as well of other Dominions as their own, passing through the said Seas, and sovereign Guard thereof. Vide Furtles Jac. Uth. Arm. Episc. Hybernix Sylloge, p. 121. 163. also Rolls Abridg. 2d. Part 174. Cook 4th. Inst. 142. Leonard 2d. Part, the Q. and Constable 72. Selden de Dom. moris L. 2d. Ch. 14. 27. 28.

High and Mighty, Humble and Submissive ; and instead of lofty and unreasonable Demands, receive kind and affectionate Regard, and modest Requests from them.

Other Nations abroad, would not think *England* obliged to be at their Beck, but would Esteem it an Honour, or a Satisfaction at least, to come into the Measures of *British* Politicks ; even tho' they should be calculated for the Good and Interest of *Great Britain*.

But alas ! We are fallen from the Virtue of our Ancestors ; instead of practising honest Industry, by improving Trade abroad, and gaining Wealth to our selves, at the Expence of other Nations ; we are sunk into Idleness and knavish Projects, how to prey upon each other, and get great Estates by sharpening : So that tho' some of our Merchants encrease their Wealth to a vast Degree ; and others from Clerks, and even from Footmen, arrive to the Honours of Knighthood, and Nobility, and to the Riches of Princes ; the Nation is not one Farthing the Wealthier ; but may in the Consequence be ruin'd. These Acquisitions are really obtained by a sort of national Gaming ; and at the Expence (indeed sometimes to the ruin) of the honest Trader, and industrious Countryman.

Whilst we see all the Mechanick Arts receive surprizing Improvements daily ; our Navigation is at a stay, and our trading Mistry, instead of being extended, is now confined to stock-jobbing ; and by the little Quirks and mean Frauds of Companies and Managers, dishonour'd and debas'd ; Ships, instead of Merchandise, are sold, and the Discourse at the Exchange, of Silks, Cloths, Wooll, Tobacco, &c. is mixt with that of Funds, Lotteries and Stocks, a Jargon unknown to our honest

honest Ancestors ; whilst more Money can be got in an Hour there, and by good Correspondence with the Closets of Ways and Means Favourites ; none will chuse to hazard Life and Fortune on the Seas, till the Epidemick Degeneracy of the Nation becomes reformed.

Particular Men will mind the Interest of their own Families ; and 'tis the highest Wisdom in Legislators, and Ministers of State, to make that the Interest of the Publick. If the properest Method to obtain Riches is render'd such as will advance the Good of the Community also ; happy is that Nation, which alone can be said to have an advantageous Trade.

Since Trade is so great an Advantage, and these Barrs to it are so Prejudicial, we might consider to whom we have been obliged : But that must not be said, Power exasperated on the one Hand, and fears of Punishment on the other, forbid it. The High and Mighty are impatient of Rebuke ; and cannot bear to hear the ill Characters of their Friends. A *Rook* will not like to be called so, even by the Sufferer he has bubbled ; nor is it safe to accuse a Sharper, of the Frauds he daily practises, in the Company of his Brethren : So that 'tis proper to leave, what might further be said, to the thinking *English* to Reflect on.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Tull. de Off. Page 132. *Hoc enim spectant Leges, hoc volunt; incolumem esse civium conjunctionem quam qui dirimunt eos morte exilio vinclis damno coercent.*

NOR is it safer to speak freely on the remaining Head. A poor Figure would that Author make on the Pillory, or in a Jail, by the Prosecutions of Lawyers; for endeavouring to lay open the Abuses of the Laws themselves: Of which tho' all complain, none desire to feel in their own Persons or Estates. However, (since this also is proposed to be considered) let us view impartially, the Constitution of *Britain*; view it, in its pristine Glory, and in its present State: Consider by what Methods the Energy and Force of the Law has been lessened or augmented; how its Beauty has been defac'd or improved; that the World may be proper Judges of the Measures most conducive to their Welfare or Destruction; and may thence be stirred up, to that most noble, most useful Knowledge of what to choose, and what to avoid; know exactly who of their Countrymen they ought to love and esteem, and whom to slight: Whose Memories are truly Blessed and Glorious in this Nation; and whose Infamous and Abominable.

The Laws of *England*, have been, in the greatest Repute, and esteemed preferable to those of any other Nation in Christendom, for their Conformity to the Laws of God, and their Exactness in preserving the several Rights and Properties, of all under their Protection.

Whether we look back to the Reign of the immortal *Alfred* for their Original, or even to the

beginning of the foregoing Century, under the Royal *Ina* ; we shall find the Happiness of our Constitution was not, at once, produc'd (like *Pallas* from the Head of *Jove*) Perfect and Entire ; but by degrees proceeded from the Embrio of unpolish'd Virtue and good Morals, to full Growth of a beautiful Offspring, from the Infant and Unadorn'd Policy of those well-meaning Antients, it grew up to Instruct and Delight, to Guide and Defend, the After-ages, through a Thousand Changes and Chances of Government and Opinions ; in the Reigns of *Athelstan*, *Edmund*, *Edgar*, *Ethelred*, and even *Canute*, that barbarous Northern Invader ; (who all endeavour'd to add to, and improve, what they found was become their own.) It received one shining Period, by the Labours and Policy of *Edward the Confessor*, (or at least of His Ministry) who collected all the valuable Rites, Customs and Edicts, of the antient and then present Times, into one Body : And this was in a very solemn Manner, (after the several Pretences to it, of the two first *Williams*,) confirmed by *Henry I.* in a Parliamentary Way ; the most like what that great Court at present ought to be, of any that had been before it. From these Materials, and thro' this variety of Incidents, was the whole at last digested into that beautiful Frame, which has been the Ornament of the *English* Nation ; and which alone can make her desirable and happy. The Steps that were all along taken till this memorable Period ; which we may place in the Reign of the illustrious *

Edward

* This must not be understood as if the Author would affirm, that the Practice of the latter Ages was intirely agreeable to this ; he knows well that the Power of both Houses of Parliament have been much encreas'd, their Method of proceeding al-

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Edward III. and the Variety and Consequence of Events, will furnish to the accurate Observer sufficient Matter of Applause and Wonder, and justify his Admiration and Love, of what was so perfect when obtained; and met with such Difficulties in the Acquisition. This will also at once shew its Excellency, and demonstrate the Methods of Destruction, or Preservation of it; and thereby (one would hope) deter our Managers from the one, and invite them to the other.

The Glories and Advantages ascribed to the subject of our Discourse, may be ranged under the two following Heads. *First*, Those that relate to the Government or the ruling Power.

Secondly, Those that Guard the Lives, Liberties and Properties, of the Subject.

We may justly value our selves, on the great Priviledges we enjoy; without lessening the Grandeur of our Kings: And the Extensiveness and Power of their Royal Prerogative; without the least Infringement of the Subjects Rights.

Wisely and piously too have our Laws declared the King of *England*, * a *Sovereign Independent Monarch*; and called his Crown an † *Imperial Diadem*; which (notwithstanding the Cavils of Re-

ter'd, since that Time. And the Prerogative Royal has varied its Exercise: But in general it may be said, that the Foundation was then laid, and what has since been added or alter'd has been super-induced, as Decoration and Circumstance, &c.

* *William II. to Archbishop Anselm. Stat. 24. H. 8. Ch. 12. 25 H. 8. Ch. 21. Seld. tit. Honr. p. 18. 19, 20. Bracton L. 2. fol. 55.*

† *Fleta fol. 520. Licolns-Inn Mfs. Seld. Tit. Honr. p. from 156. to 174. Stat. 1 Eliz. Ch. 1. 1 Jac. Ch. 1.*

Tho' Mr. Selden Tit. Honr. p. 156. tells us, that Diadem was only a Fillet, and very different from a Crown; yet they were both used to the same Purpose, to denote Imperial Sovereignty; the Fillet worn by the Roman Emperors, and the Crown by the Saxon, English, and other Kings,

publicans and Anarchists) descends, by Hereditary * Right ; without Election or any manner of Consent, but that of natural Allegiance, from Father to Son ; in a Succession which admits no *Interregnum*.

This Prince so seated on the Throne by Descent, holds his Kingdoms by a Tenure the most Noble and Extensive, Subject. Indeed to the Fundamental Laws, which forbid him to Aliene his Kingdoms, for this clear and full Reason ; because his Subjects have as great a Right, as Indefeasible a Title to him ; can as justly claim his Government and Protection, as he does their Allegiance.

He is Born to a Crown, Born to Dominion and Sway ; but such, as tends to make himself a great and potent Prince ; and his Subjects an happy People. He hath the Power and Command, over the Lives, the Liberties and the Properties of his Subjects ; but it is such as the Laws direct ; those Laws that are, in themselves, so exactly calculated ; for the Preservation and Benefit of Mankind ; founded upon the firm Rock of Wisdom and Religion ; which entirely regard the Just and the Right, in Civil Matters: And in Things Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, Decency, Uniformity and Order ; Piety of Soul, and Probity of Manners.

* Bracton fol. 68. l. 2. c. 31. de Hæredibus & Fleta
 Lincolns Inn Mss. fol. 520. Omnes autem quotquot à com-
 muni stipite primi descendunt gradatim per lineam rectam
 in infinitum sunt Hæredes Recti & Justi & cum in Linea
 recta deficient tunc vocandi sunt ipsi qui propinqui Linea
 transversali, &c. descendendo, &c. & quamvis omnes sic in
 infinitum, &c. Recti sunt Hæredes & justi non tamen omnes
 vocandi sunt simul ad Successionem propinquam excludit
 propinquum propinquus Remotum Remotus Remotiorem.
 p. 521. Fleta Masculus namque sexus preferri debet Femineo.
 Nor

Nor let a King of *England* think his Power less Valuable, * or himself less a Sovereign Prince, that he is restrained by Laws, which preserve his Subjects Rights in all Respects; and thereby make him more Formidable Abroad, and Happy at Home. The *Saxon Athelstan* was very sensible of this, when (in the Preamble to the Laws by which he, tho' an Absolute Monarch thought fit to restrain himself, after his *porro autem nobiscum Cogitemus*) he says, † *neque enim Mibi, &c.* and even the *Norman Conqueror* (to whose unbounded Power all things then were Lawful) expresses himself thus, * *Statuimus, &c. pacem, securitatem, concordiam, judicium & justitiam inter Anglos & Normanos, &c. per universam Monarchiam Regni, &c. firmiter & inviolabiliter observari*; these very Lives, these Rights, these Properties of theirs, are, by the Laws that preserve them, devoted to his Service, when there's a real Occasion; and laid out to support his Grandeur, defend his Person, exalt the Dignity, and encrease the Happiness of his Government. So that it may truly be said, there is not on Earth a greater Monarch than a King of *England*, at the Head of his Parliament, in full Possession of his Peoples Hearts; by which, (as a great Princess said) † he may easily command their Persons and Purse; of which he cannot fail, if he Governs by the Laws of the Land; and never suffers them to be wrested, for any Party Quarrels, or private Views, of designing Favourites and Factions.

* *Bracton Lib. 2. fol. 595. worthy Descriptions of the Power of the King of England, omnis quidem subeo & ipse submitto, &c. to the End.*

† *Lambert's Laws.*

* *Lambert.*

† *Cambden's Elizabeth.*

Next to the Throne behold that August Assembly, the House of Lords; whose Honour it is (by Hereditary Right) those of the Laity; and the Bishops *Jure dignitatis* to sit there; as it were to Ballance the Two Scales, of Prince and People; to prevent Anarchy and Confusion on the one Hand; and illegal Sway on the other. This Noble and Illustrious Body, is the Highest Court of Record the Law owns: The Dernier Resort of the People; and it *has been* their Glory, to apply themselves (heartily) to the Study of those Laws, which have placed them in so exalted a Station; and made them the chief Judges of the Kingdom.

From thence let us cast our Eyes on the Representatives of the People, met together, by the free unforc'd Consent of the Commons of *England*; to consult the Good and Welfare of the Community: To digest their generous, their worthy Thoughts, into regular Propositions; to be made by the Consent, and joint Advice, and Counsel, of the superior House, to their Monarch, for his Approbation; who may (with greatest Reason) expect so many of the Best and Wisest of his Subjects, met there by the Suffrage of the whole Nation. Nay sent as their Deputies, in Obedience to his Commands, as they must be better qualified, than any Men Living, to know; so will heartily apply themselves to redress the Grievances, and improve whatever may conduce to the Happiness and Welfare of their Constituents.

These Three Estates are the Body, as the King is the Soul, of the Legislature; that gives Life and Being to those Ordinances and Acts, that are contrived and formed by the Parliament; and it is the Glory and Advantage of all those, that neither can add, or alter a tittle, without the Con-

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Consent of All. So that no Man is bound by any Law, to which himself has not consented.

And when these Laws are so made, the manner of their Execution is adjusted, by the Plan of their Creation. Those to whom that Honour is committed, are disposed into such Classes and Degrees, as bear a very near Resemblance to the Senators and their Prince ; and may (without any Imputation of a chymical Fancy) be reckon'd the Representatives of those ; from whom they, and the Laws they are to execute, derive their Authority. Thus in the common Course of Proceedings in Criminal Cases, no Person is to be put on his Trial by the malicious Suggestions of any one ; till the Body of the County he lives in, represented by the most considerable Gentlemen of it, pass their Judgment to that Purpose : And when he is tried, 'tis by the Oaths of Twelve of his Equals, his Neighbours, and (probably) Acquaintance ; who are (or ought to be) Men of good Understanding and Probity ; who can't be supposed to declare him Guilty, if he be Innocent ; no more than they ought to acquit him if Guilty : And when this Verdict is past on him, a Ray of the royal Power and Authority, must dart from the Judge to strike him Dead with Condemnation ; or clear him (where his Case is hard) with a Reprieve ; the common Fore-runner of royal Mercy. Nor is the manner of determining Controversies in common Right, less worthy our Praise and Esteem ; where the honest Neighbourhood are to declare on their solemn Oaths, the true State of the Facts in Question ; and the learned Judges to determine the Points in Law.

How high a Privilege therefore has an *Englishman*, under such a Constitution ? How happy a State is that Nation in, which is governed in such a Manner ? How justly might we boast of our
Felicity ;

Felicity ; and value our selves upon our Rights and Privileges ; whilst those are preserv'd to us ? But we alas ! Have wanton'd away our Jewels and Treasure, and help'd our selves to put on Chains and Shackles. Our Heads have grown giddy with the just Liberties we have enjoy'd ; and whilst we once look'd on our Neighbours with Scorn and Pity ; and grow Proud of our own Condition ; the fickleness and vanity of our Nature made us weary, even of Happiness it self ; Our Pride and Conceit made us Gnosticks in Politicks, as well as in Religion ; and spurr'd us on either to give just Occasion for the Proverb upon us, or to confirm it by Example : Without considering that the Isthmus between Good and Evil is very narrow ; we must form Projects of improving our Happiness ; and whilst some would encrease our Liberty ; they thirst after, and at last fall into unbounded Licencé ; the high Road to Anarchy, Confusion, and the utmost national Misery : And others to avoid that *Sylla* split in a worse *Charybdis* : The former would be confined by no Rules ; no Laws but their own wild Fancies and perverse Wills ; and the latter would stretch the Prerogative and Power, sometimes of one, sometimes of the others of our Governours : Those would have no King to Reign over them ; and these none but a Tyrant. In vain do our Histories set before our Eyes, the Examples of our wiser Ancestors ; and shew us what Methods they took to improve the Advantages, Heaven had given them ; and the Rocks they split on, when they were so unhappy to be in Error : So that truly, on a Political, as well as Moral Account, may we say ;

*Ætas Parentum pejor Avis tulit
non nequiores.* —————

Horace
tho

tho' I could wish, and am not without hopes, that the *maximatum* will be *Feliciores* in the enjoyment of a full Restoration of all the Laws and Liberties an English-man can justly claim.

Will not Posterity wonder, and are not our Neighbours already astonish'd, at the Madness and Folly of those, who when they have arrived at the critical Point of Happiness in Government, will think of rising to a yet higher Pitch of what is Good and Desirable. The Mathematicians will tell us, that when we are on the Summit of a Globe, the least Motion to any Side will place us lower. The Moralist teaches, that there is a certain exalted Point in every Virtue, which when we exceed, we decline somewhat nearer to the contrary Vices. And Statesmen, who think and mean well to their Country, will own that in every Form of Government which is so happy to keep the Ballance, even the least Grain in either Scale, will be an approach to Injustice and Wrong.

But (to be more particular) let us after the Example of the great Lord *Verulam* in his Fable of the *Couleurs* of Good and Evil, view the other Side of the glorious Scene distinctly; see where the greatest of Blessings may be corrupted to the worst of Ills, which we must examin * Hypothetically, and as a thing only possible.

If the kingly Authority is under no other Restraint, but such as every wise Prince would lay on himself; whereby nothing, but what would be fatal to him is denied, and every thing great and worthy at his Command, and in his Power: If, I say, his high Prerogative of *England's* Majesty places the Scales in his Hand, to keep the Ballance of three mighty Nations even:

* Cicero L. 3. de Legibus p. 347. Non enim de hoc Senatu non de his Hominibus qui nunc sunt sed de futuris
(*) hæc habetur oratio.

* If his Head is adorn'd with a Crown, to be the Glory of his Country ; his Hand with a Sword, to do Justice to all ; to punish the Wicked, and the Oppressor ; and his Scepter, to direct and command Reward to the deserving ; Protection to the oppressed ; Comfort and Support to the Needy and Desolate : If these Godlike Actions are the Duty, and these his Privileges, how shall we forbear to wonder at any of our future Monarchs, if they slight such inestimable Advantages ; and instead of behaving themselves like Gods upon Earth, shall debase themselves to the meanest the vilest of Follies, and destructive Errors. † If at any time their Dignity and Glory shall be little regarded, the Crown eclips'd by Clouds of Vice and Debauchery ; their Sword and the Scepter change their Offices ; and Virtue and Merit meet the Edge and Cruelty of the one ; whilst the other is exercised in the favour of the vilest most Profligate of the People.

If the higher House of Parliament, instead of applying themselves to the Study of those Laws already in force, and endeavouring their Correction and Improvement, shall think fit to waste their Time and Estates in the softness of Luxury and unworthy Pleasures ; and by their Example debauch * the Morals of the whole Nation : If in-

* Bracton L. 2. fol. 55. ch. 24. Selden Hist. H. 8. p. 177. *On giving the Scepter.* Accipe Sceptrum, &c. quo teipsum bene regas, &c. Pravos corrigas, Rectos pacifices & tuo juvamine dirigas. *And again, p. 178. on the same Occasion.* Accipe virgam Virtutis atque æquitatis qua intelligas mulcere pios & terrere reprobos, errantes viam doces captisque manum porrige.

† Vide Selden Titles of Honour. *Where he gives an Emblematical Description of the Regalia.* p. 156.

* Cicero de Legibus p. 347. Nec enim tantum mali est peccare principes (quanquam est hoc magnum per seipsum malum) quantum illud quod permulti Imitatores principum existunt.

stead of guarding the Crown from the Encroachments of the Populace, and the Commons from the Oppressions and tyrannical Invasions on their Rights by the Prince, or a corrupt rapacious and ambitious Ministry ; they will fall in with either out of Folly, Cowardice, or Treachery ; or perhaps all these together.

If the People, whose high Privilege it is, to send Members to the lower House to represent them, to redress their Grievances and preserve their Rights, shall be bribed or influenced by the Threats of the Court, convey'd to them by the Menacers of it ; to depute those who are perfect Strangers to them, or who (they know) are Enemies to the Constitution ; what can they expect, but that such will serve themselves, and (according to the old Observation) play the Merchants indeed, and sell as well as buy ; if these Members, when chosen to so high a Station as that of Legislators, shall neglect the publick for private Interest, turn Slaves of a Court, or Mercenaries of a Party, and sell their Birth-right for a Song ; or when others are projecting and executing these abominable Follies, shall betray their Trust, either out of Cowardice or Sloth ; either prefer Sleep or Wine, or perhaps worse Pleasures, to the sacred Rights of their Country ; or out of a sneaking mean complying Temper, shall not Blush to follow the Multitude to do Evil ; and if even a vast Majority of those who are chosen by the joint desire of all good Men and true Lovers of their Country, shall from any of these Motives, become the Properties of a few designing Villains ; and suffer themselves to be byass'd by their Smiles and Frowns, by their Wealth or Power, and rather come into any Proposals, than take the Trouble to examin it, and consider its Consequences.

* If

* If our Judges instead of regarding the Dignity of their High Stations, and preserving unsully'd the greatest Ornament and Beauty of any Law an impartial Determination, shall turn humble Servants to some powerful Lord, or Slave to a prevailing Party; and help to remove the Landmarks which they are bound by the most sacred Tyes to fix inviolably; when instead of being awful Representatives of the supreme Majesty, they shall turn Pensioners of a Ministry, and follow all their Measures and Designs, and use the Laws Truckle and be subservient to them: If the Example of *Tresilian*, or such as he, shall be thought more worthy Imitation, than that of the immortal Chief Justice that adorn'd the Bench in the Reign of our King *Henry IV.*

If grand Inquisitors shall act diametrically opposite to the Oaths they take, and shall both present and accuse out of Malice and Hatred, and forbear for Favour and Affection; if they shall supply the want of Evidence with strain'd Innuendoes, or cloud the clearness of Proof, by an affected Dulness of Apprehension; if they shall approve themselves Persons of the most nice distinguishing Heads, and perfectly skill'd in unriddling Enigma's, and of the deepest Penetration into the meaning of their Enemies, but cannot understand the most apparent Attempts and Designs of their Friends.

If inferior Juries shall be influenc'd by powerful Gold, by the Smiles and Promises of the Mighty, or their threatening Thunder; if they shall by any means be prevailed on to accept the Price of Blood, and Sacrifice the Innocent to their own or others sanguinary Rage; if the Lives and Properties of their Neighbours shall be less esteem'd than the Rewards of those who would ruin them; if their own Oaths and the sacred Tyes of Justice and Religion must be postpon'd to sordid † Gain, or yield to the Power of Passion or Party.

If any of these Dignities and Degrees, any of these superior or subordinate Judges, shall have to little Regard to Truth and Justice, as to betray unwary Evidences with evasive Questions, or seduce the ready Villains to voluntary Perjuries; if they shall suffer that abominable that accursed Crime to be pass'd over with Impunity, or countenanc'd with encouragement.

If this should ever be our Case, will it not be time to look about us; may we not then lay *Fuimus Troes*, we were once an happy People.

* Cicero de legibus L. 3. p. 343. Videtis igitur multum hanc esse vim ut præsit præscribetque & utilis conjuncta cum Legibus ut enim populo præsent Magistrate Leges Magistratibus. † Cicero de legibus L. 1. p. 119.

Id enim injustissimum ipsum est Justitiæ mercedem quærere.

